DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 442 600 RC 022 470

AUTHOR	Singh, Parlo
TITLE	Pedagogic Work, Social Class and Cultural Difference.
PUB DATE	1999-12-00
NOTE	26p.; Paper presented at the Joint Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education and the New Zealand Association for Research in Education (Melbourne, Australia, November 29-December 2, 1999).
AVAILABLE FROM	For full text: http://www.swin.edu.au/aare/.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Classroom Communication; Cultural Differences; *Culture Conflict; Educational Environment; Educational Strategies; Educationally Disadvantaged; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Interpersonal Communication; *Pacific Islanders; School Community Relationship; Social Differences; *Student Behavior; *Teacher Student Relationship
IDENTIFIERS	Australia (Queensland); *Communication Behavior; *Samoans

ABSTRACT

A study examined how pedagogic work in Queensland (Australia) schools could be reformed to meet the educational needs of low-achieving students from working-class and unemployed Samoan/Pacific Islander communities. Interviews were conducted with 39 primarily Anglo-Australian teachers and 35 Samoan/Pacific Islander parents and community members serving as paraprofessionals at five schools in a low socioeconomic area with many working-class Samoan immigrants. The interviews revealed that Samoan children are likely to enter school having been socialized into the respectful communicative practices of the "fa'aSamoa" (Samoan Way). Samoan culture has distinct social classes, and three language forms and accompanying dispositions are used in different social contexts. A Samoan individual's importance is in relation to the importance of other people, but Australian schools are operated from a European perspective, which is based on the individual. This sets up a disjuncture between the communicative dispositions of Samoan children and the behaviors expected of students in school. As a result, Samoan students are likely to experience difficulty accessing the knowledge transmitted through schooling. Community members attributed the educational difficulties of Samoan students to the communicative practices of schooling, specifically the form of the teacher-student relationship, rather than to curricular content. Changes that would minimize these difficulties include creation of a supportive preschool structure, relaxation of the pacing and sequencing of instructional and regulative discourses, and incorporation of community forms of symbolic control into the school environment. (Contains 33 references.) (TD)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

Paper accepted in Refereed Australian Association for Research in Education Conference

Pedagogic Work, Social Class and Cultural Difference

ED 442 600

Parlo Singh

Manuscript accepted for AARE conference proceedings:
Australian Association for Research in Education Conference, Melbourne, 1999

Address:

Parlo Singh
School of Cognition, Language and Special Education
Mt Gravatt Campus, Griffith University
Nathan, Q. 4111
Australia
Email: P.Singh@mailbox.gu.edu.au
Fax: 61-7-3875 5965

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
P. Singh

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

RC022470

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Pedagogic Work, Social Class and Cultural Difference

This paper reports on the accounts of pedagogic work provided by Samoan/Pacific Islander paraprofessionals responsible for forging lines of communication between government-funded secondary schools and the Indigenous, migrant, working class and unemployed communities in a low socio-economic area of an Australian city. A qualitative (interview) methodology was used to document the paraprofessionals' understandings as to how pedagogic work could be reformed to meet the educational needs of low achieving students from these communities. All the interviewees emphasised differences in the form and content of pedagogy between the school, and the home and church, attributing these to different relations of power and control. Specifically, all the participants suggested that the demeanour of respect and obedience/servitude acquired by Samoan children in the home and church differed significantly from the individualist student demeanour produced in various forms of classroom pedagogy when designing strategies to improve educational outcomes of working class migrant students.

Pedagogic Work, Social Class and Cultural Difference

Introduction

This paper reports on the interview accounts provided by Samoan/Pacific Islander paraprofessionals responsible for forging lines of communication between government-funded secondary schools and the Indigenous, migrant, working class and unemployed communities in a low socio-economic area of an Australian city. The term, 'Samoan/Pacific Islander', is used in this paper to indicate firstly, that the paraprofessional interviewees identified variously as 'Samoan', 'Pacific Islander', 'New Zealand-born Samoan' and/or 'Samoan Australian'. The term is also used to indicate that the interviewees had these identities imposed upon them in that they were often asked to speak as 'Samoans' or 'Pacific Islanders' in educational forums. The term paraprofessional refers to the group of teacher-aides, home liaison officers, cultural advisors and community representatives on school councils who constitute a 'relay' transmitting the social norms of schooling into the home, and simultaneously channelling the relationships of the home into the school (Hunter, 1994).

In this paper, I focus on paraprofessionals' accounts of similarities and differences in the communicative contexts of working class Samoan families and churches and the institution of the school – both in Samoa and Australia. The paper is organised in four sections. In the first section, a theory of pedagogic work is presented. In the second section, a description is provided of the paraprofessionals and the community in which they worked, and the teachers with whom they worked. In the third section of the paper, I provide an analysis of the forms of social regulation or symbolic control in key institutions of the local Samoan/Pacific Islander community. In that section, the modes of symbolic control in the institutions of the home and church are contrasted with the norms of school communicative practices. Similarities and differences in the forms of symbolic control within home, church, and schooling contexts are thus detailed. The paper concludes with a discussion of pedagogic strategies that may assist working class Samoan/Pacific Islander students with border crossing, that is, to make the transition across the symbolic borders insulating the school from the home and church.

Theorising Pedagogic Work

Some social researchers, following a cultural studies approach, define pedagogy so broadly to include any social experience in which learning occurs, for example, viewing a two minute television advertisement. However, for the purposes of this paper, I define pedagogic work as communication practices in homes, communities and schools 'where there is a purposeful intention to initiate, modify, develop or change knowledge, conduct or practice over time by

someone ... who already possesses, or has access to, the necessary resources and the means of evaluating acquisition' (Bernstein in Solomon, forthcoming). Pedagogic work is constituted by principles of power and control. Symbolic power relations refer to the strength of the insulation of the boundaries between categories of pedagogic agents (i.e. teachers-students, caregivers-children), discursive resources (transmitted and acquired by pedagogic agents in school, family and local community contexts), and contexts of pedagogic communication in the institutions of family, community and school. Through relations of power, the categories of persons who interact in pedagogic communication, in addition to the categories of discursive resources transmitted in these interactions, are constituted.

Relations of symbolic control refer to the communicative relations within the school (amongst teachers, teacher-aides and students) and in the family and community (between caregivers-children, religious ministers-congregational members). They refer also to the relations between the communicative forms of these institutions, for example, control over the flow of communicative forms between the home and Church and the school (Bernstein 1996). Thus symbolic control refers to the "plans, recipes, rules, instructions .... 'programs' for the governing of behaviour" (Geertz, ~~1~~990: 49). In any pedagogic relation the transmitter (i.e. teacher, parent, religious minister) has to learn to be a transmitter and the acquirer (i.e. student, child, congregational member) has to learn to be an acquirer. That is, acquirer and transmitter must function in accord with the forms of symbolic control legitimated in the context. As Bernstein (1990: 65-66) argued:

> the process of learning how to be a transmitter entails acquiring the rules of social order, character, and manner which become the condition for appropriate conduct in the pedagogic relation. It is these rules which are a prerequisite of any enduring pedagogic relation. In any one such relation the rules of conduct may to different degrees permit a space for negotiation.

The transmitter is always in the dominant position in relations of symbolic control with the acquirer (Bernstein 1990). However, the form of the hierarchical relation depends on the display of power and control relations in pedagogic practice (Bernstein 1996; Jones 1997). Control is overt, explicit or visible when exercised through physical or verbal imperatives or through reference to a set of positional rules concerned with status (e.g. age, sex, age relation, and ethnicity), a specific context (e.g. the classroom), or culturally invariant rules (e.g. politeness rules). Alternatively, control is covert, implicit or invisible when exercised through reference to interpersonal rules protecting individuals from damage, disturbance or violation (Bernstein 1990). Learning to be an acquirer or transmitter entails facility with the form of control operative in the context. Moreover, the form of the hierarchical relationship between transmitter and acquirer affects the selection and organisation of instructional discourse, as well

as the transfer of criteria which the acquirer is expected to take over, explore and evaluate in terms of his/her own behaviour and that of relevant others. There are two forms of criteria made available to students in schooling institutions, namely instructional criteria (how to solve this problem or that problem, or produce an acceptable piece of writing or speech) and regulative criteria (conduct, character and manner).

Classroom communication is thus constituted by the rules of hierarchy (teacher-student), selection and organisation of knowledge, and criteria. Moreover, implicit or explicit power and control relations structure the form of the classroom communicative context. From the student's position, 'the point' of school work is to discover and meet the criteria of 'competence' in the classroom communicative context – to supply the teacher with 'the right answer' (Jones, 1997). Students who do not recognise the principles of power and control structuring the communicative context of the classroom will experience difficulty meeting the teacher's criteria of 'competence'. Moreover, teachers may misread the 'competence' displayed by students if it does not meet the conventions of the classroom communicative context.

The case study [1]

The community

Five ethnically diverse, low socio-economic secondary schools participated in this study. These schools are all government-funded educational institutions situated in an outer suburban low socio-economic area. According to school administrators, many of the families in the area experience difficulty meeting the costs associated with public education, for example the purchase of school uniforms, textbooks, school excursion fees, and other school contribution schemes. To illustrate, one of the schools is located in the suburb of Sanunder. This suburb is ranked amongst the lowest 5% of all the local statistical areas of the state with respect to median household income. In addition, youth (15-24 years) and adult (25+ years) unemployment levels of 31.4% and 21.7% are significantly higher in this suburb than the city averages of 14.1% and 9.9% respectively. Moreover, the occupational profile of Sanunder is skewed strongly towards clerical, sales and service employment, and trade work, with under-representation in the professional categories. The other four case study schools are situated in areas with socio-economic indicators closer to state and city averages (Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998). However, there are pockets of extreme disadvantage in these areas (fieldnotes, 1996-98).

For comparative performance evaluation purposes, the state education department grouped four of

the case study schools together using a measure which incorporates an index of relative socio-economic disadvantage. This grouping was developed to facilitate 'meaningful comparisons' related to the 'contextual characteristics of schools', by which were meant size, socio-economic status and the proportion of the population that was of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander background[2]. While Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students constitute approximately 5% of the Queensland school student population (Education Queensland, 1999), they represent between 10-12% of the total student population in four of the case study schools. This group is the most disadvantaged in the Australian population. Similarly, Samoan/Pacific Islander students represent between 10-13.5% of the student population in the same four case study schools.[3] The fifth school was of higher socio-economic status than the other schools as a whole, but had substantial cohorts of disadvantaged students (field notes, 1996-98). In addition, a State Electoral Commission profile indicated that residents in the case study area spoke "the most foreign languages out of any electorate in the State, with 26.7% speaking a language other than English at home"[4]. With their low socio-economic status and ethnically and racially diverse populations, the case study schools were typical of those historically targeted for disadvantaged schools funding by the Commonwealth government (Lingard, 1998).

The Teachers

Thirty-nine teachers were interviewed for this study, the overwhelming majority of whom were Anglo Australian. While four of the interviewees were beginning teachers and had been at the case study schools for less than two years (usually the whole of their teaching career), most of the interviewees were experienced teachers whose substantial periods of service at the case study schools spanned the years since the arrival of the Samoan students. Five of these interviewees had 5-10 years experience, 13 had 11-20 years experience and 11 had 21 or more years experience[5]. Over half of these experienced teachers had been at the case study schools since the time Samoan students began enrolling in significant numbers. The demographic profile of the teachers at these schools conforms broadly with Australian norms: the average age of the Australian teaching force was in the mid-forties at the time of the study. Moreover, most of the teachers in the case study schools are white, and of English-speaking background.

Teachers at the case study schools undertook curriculum and pedagogic renewal initiatives to improve educational achievements for students who had not attained outcomes appropriate to their year level, in particular, the third of the student population that did not achieve pass grades in the junior certificate[6]. Indigenous and Samoan/Pacific Islanders were disproportionately represented in this low achieving group[7]. Literacy and numeracy levels for this cohort of students were also very low[8]. In addition, teachers were responsible for producing relevant

curricula for the increasing number of low achieving students who were enrolled in the post-compulsory sectors of secondary schooling. In Queensland, the retention rate for students in Year 12 in government schools rose from 1972, peaking at 82.1% in 1993. However, in recent years the retention rate has declined to 69.7% (Education Queensland, 1999: 2). On this point, a report prepared on the future of Queensland state (government) schools (Education Queensland, 1999: 2-3) states:

> In the last three decades, the trend in the number of students completing 12 years of education has varied. .... As the youth labour market collapsed, work was hard to find and more students continued at school. Governments had policies and strategies in place to encourage students to complete 12 years of schooling. Since 1992, however, the retention rate has declined ... The impact of the Commonwealth Youth Allowance, which requires young people under 18 to participate in education or training if not employed, may lead to an increase in retention rates. Initial indications are that students returning to school or continuing as a consequence of the Allowance need assistance with literacy, numeracy, counselling and vocational education.

The report prepared by Education Queensland (1999: 20 also indicates that "between 1986 and 1996, the proportion of young Queenslanders attending state schools declined from nearly 77% to just over 72.5%." In all the case study schools, the retention of students as a consequence of the Youth Allowance, and the movement of academically able students to private schools and/or government schools perceived to be better providers of quality education, was cited as a major educational challenge.

For the teachers in the case study schools, with their substantial cohorts of low achieving working class students, the Social Justice Strategy of the state education department in the early 1990s was of particular salience to their everyday work. Formulated under a Labor government elected in 1989 after 32 years of conservative rule, this strategy drew together existing projects for a cluster of target group students[9], especially in disadvantaged schools, and made consideration of social justice mandatory in all departmental activities. Among the provisions of this strategy was the policy, Cultural and Language Diversity in Education (Queensland Education Department, 1995), which promoted: i) 'socially just' curriculum recognising diversity and thematising injustice; ii) development of departmental officers' understandings of racism and cultural inclusion; and iii) the participation of community members of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in school processes and decision-making. The participation of Samoan paraprofessionals in the processes and decisions of the case study schools was consistent with this policy. Moreover, in Queensland the Special Programs School Scheme (SPSS) is the main program to help schools deal with poverty. "Its strength has been a focus on

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

the need for whole school change and improved school-community relationships." (Education Queensland 1999: 7).

The 39 teachers interviewed for this study all expressed at least general support for the social justice policies of the state education department, and initiatives of the SPSS program. All of the teachers were concerned with the link between poverty and poor educational achievement. At the same time, teachers attempted to understand the ways in which membership in cultural community groups may assist families in the local area deal with issues of poverty. However, interpretations of the policies varied, as did the priority accorded to particular components of the policies. The key difference related to the emphasis on literacy and numeracy skills development vis-à-vis the incorporation of culturally inclusive and anti-racist content in curricular units. Another key difference related to interpretations as to what constituted 'racism'. Whatever their position on these issues, however, the teachers indicated that knowledge of Samoan culture informed their provision for Samoan students – a practice consistent with the expectations of the Social Justice Strategy. Generally, the teachers drew on their knowledge of Samoan culture in an attempt to understand the behaviour of Samoan students and to develop effective forms of symbolic control in classroom interactions, as well as relevant curricula.

The teachers indicated that their knowledge of Samoan culture had been constructed variously from information provided by Samoan paraprofessionals – either directly or as filtered through other teachers, from classroom experience with Samoan students, and from other sources such as time spent in Samoa or personal relationships with Samoan people. Sometimes, teachers held conflicting views on the same topics, for example, whether Samoan child-rearing practices were strict or 'laid back'. Moreover, notions about literate and oral cultures, progressive and traditional pedagogy, modern and traditional societies, and secular and religious knowledges were often mapped over Samoan/Australian differences, with the Samoan being constructed as oral, traditional and religious. Furthermore, the Samoan family, church and school were all constructed in virtually identical terms. That is, distinctions were drawn between the communicative practices of Australian schools and Samoan institutions, rather than amongst Samoan institutions.

The paraprofessionals

The form of cultural and community educational work undertaken by members of the Samoan/Pacific Islander ethnic group varied, but included service in consultative positions on

school councils, liaison work between the local community and the school community, input into curricular and pedagogic renewal initiatives, mediation in teacher-student relations, and responsibility for disciplining Samoan/Pacific Islander students. While the paraprofessionals were directly involved in some of the educational provisions made for Samoan students at the case study schools, much of their input into these provisions was filtered through the teachers' work.

A total of 35 Samoan/Pacific Islander paraprofessionals were interviewed for the study. The audio-taped interviews conducted with these participants were semi-structured, guided by a set of questions which aimed to elicit information about the:

- Job description of cultural and school-community education officers and advisers
- Enactment of the role of cultural and school-community education officer/adviser within the school
- Relation between work undertaken in the school and the local community
- Relation of cultural and school-community education officers/advisers to classroom teachers and school administrators
- Socialisation in a professional school role
- Versions of local Samoan culture incorporated in the school
- Relationship between professional school role and Samoan cultural identity

Positions in Local Community	**Positions in School**	
Ministers of Religion 4 Ministers + 3 Ministers' wives interviewed	• Some assisted with student discipline problems • Some participated in Parents and Citizens Committees	• Uniting Church, Seventh Day Adventist, Assemblies of God, and Methodist • Various levels of English proficiency, educational and theological qualifications
Professionals 6 participants interviewed	• 1 private training provider • 5 cultural education advisors in state agencies • Volunteers on school councils, curriculum committees etc.	• Tertiary qualifications in education, business, engineering, medicine • Residents of higher socio-economic suburbs, but attended Samoan church services in the case study area
Semi-skilled community workers 4 participants interviewed	• 2 cultural consultants: liaised between state agencies and institutions of the local Samoan community • 2 teacher-aides • Worked in schools on a fractional/casual basis.	• No tertiary qualifications • Lived in local community, sometimes connected with the Church (wife or daughter of a Minister of Religion)
Unskilled workers 18 participants interviewed	• 2 home/community liaison officers • 16 parents with children attending secondary schools in the case study area • Worked in schools on a fractional/casual basis, often additional work undertaken in cleaning/fast food industries.	• No tertiary qualifications • Lived in local community • Sometimes connected with the Church (wife or daughter of a Minister of Religion)
TOTAL 35		

Table 1: Samoan/Pacific Islander paraprofessional personnel interviewed for the study

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Data analysis

Sixteen parents (mothers) of students who attended schools in the case study area were interviewed for the study. All the parents were educated in Western Samoa, the highest level of education being fifth form (i.e. equivalent to a junior certificate pass in an Australian secondary school). Moreover, all were full-time homemakers whose husbands were variously factory workers, semi-skilled tradesmen (i.e. spray painters), or unemployed. Most of the parents stated that their communication with the school was limited. Some parents occasionally assisted in the school canteen, attended cultural and sporting events held by the school, and parent information evenings designed to report on student performance. However, most parents indicated that they were only contacted by the school when behavioural problems arose, and their child faced the possibility of school suspension, and/or when the school needed assistance with fund raising. All 16 parents expressed concern about fights in the school grounds between students of different ethnic groups, and what they perceived to be the inability of teachers to effectively discipline students. Moreover, they noted differences between the pedagogy of the home and church, and the pedagogy of the school. They argued that the use of physical punishment in the home was not only acceptable in the Samoan culture, but supported by the church, and other social institutions. Indeed, parents who did not effectively inculcate the values of respect and obedience/servitude through overt disciplinary measures were considered to be 'unloving' parents (see also Figiel 1998, Tiata 1998).

All the parents held the view that teachers were responsible for school education, and that their work as parents entailed transmitting the language and culture of 'the Samoan way'. Moreover, all the parents spoke positively about the content of school curricula. However, most parents wanted specific subjects such as biology and human relationships to be taught in single sex groups. The reason for this request is that the brother-sister relationship is tapu, 'sisters have an unchallengeable sacred significance imputed to them' (Tiata 1988: 97). Accordingly, sisters command considerable respect from their brothers in Pacific societies. Respect is manifested through formalised interactions. Thus, adolescent siblings are supposed to be distanced from each other, avoiding any form of intimate contact. Another characteristic of the brother-sister relationship is a special delicacy and reserve with regard to sexuality (Ochs 1988, Schoeffel 1995, Tiata 1998).

All parents encouraged their children to do well at school, so that they had options other than unskilled work as adults. However, they felt powerless when it came to helping with subject choices or assisting children with homework or otherwise making those options a reality. Moreover, all the parents urged greater contact between teachers and parents to ensure that they

were informed regularly about their children's academic progress. Receiving an end-of-year report card indicating that their children had been 'talkative' and performing poorly did not provide them with the input they needed to develop strategies for helping their children.

In the remainder of this paper, an analysis is provided of data collected from participants categorised as religious ministers, professionals (medical, engineering, business and teaching), teacher-aides, home liaison officers and cultural consultants (a total of 19 participants). These 19 participants were actively involved in pedagogic work in one or more of the five case study schools. Some of these participants were also active in church and local community pedagogic work. Two main themes emerged from an analysis of the data collected from the 19 participants who were actively involved in home-church-school pedagogic work: i) the form of communication practices specific to Samoan communities (the fa'aSamoa or 'Samoan way'); and ii) the difficulties of transition experienced by Samoan students as they moved between the social institutions of the Samoan community and the school.

The Social Structure of the fa'aSamoa

In the following data extracts[10] Sapeli Tapu, Uiese Parfara and Fofoa Safotu described the principles of communication within the institutions of the Samoan community. In their account of the fa'aSamoa, the interviewees described social relations and forms of symbolic control specific to the aiga or extended family, in addition to the different layers or ranks of social stratification in the Samoan community. Sapeli Tapu's account was elicited by a question about what constituted the 'Samoan Way', Uiese Parfara's account occurred in the course of a discussion about the significance of language retention to Samoan identity and social relationships. By contrast, Fofoa Safotu's account of the principles of the fa'aSamoa within the family in Samoa occurred in the course of an explanation of her efforts to re-produce these within her own family in Australia.

Extract 1:

> **Sapeli Tapu:** I mean there's a (multi-tier). It's not only everyday (communication) I mean ... it's complex in the sense that one, two, three, there's ordinary way you and I would relate, and then there's another layer above that in which the ( ) orators relate, and there's another level on top of that (high chief)... well it comes out as a class system in a way..... so this kind of relationship is the way, your mannerisms, every day how you portray yourself (medical doctor, cultural advisor)

Extract 2

> **Uiese Parfara**: I also look at retention of language as an art. ... Not only to write it, but to speak it. In Samoa there's about three kinds of language you can talk. There's a chiefly, there's the English, there's the ordinary language, and then there's the orators' language maybe, and once an elderly person opens their mouth in meetings, you know who is who and you know which corner they're coming from, whether they're a chief, whether they're an orator, whether they're just an

> uncultured person. If you can detect that in community meetings, you're far more knowledgeable about your community (teacher aide, home liaison officer, cultural consultant)

Extract 3

> **Fofoa Safotu:** ... 'cause Samoa is a very class-based society. The family still has its own structure, like you have the matai and his wife on the top, and then the high chief on the top, and then your talking chiefs and then the rest of the families with fathers that don't have titles and so it's a very structured family type of thing, and a child would need to know how to address all those adults, so that he doesn't upset anybody (ex-teacher, teacher-aide, cultural advisor)

To clarify, Sapeli Tapu indicated that there were three levels of communication within the fa'aSamoa, namely the everyday, ordinary level and the layers of communication of the chiefly class (orator and high chief). Similarly, Uiese Parfara distinguished between ordinary language, orators' language, high chief language, and the English spoken in Western Samoa. Fofoa Safotu spoke of the class structures of the fa'aSamoa within the institution of the family and distinguished between the chiefly class (i.e. matai) composed of the titled chiefs, namely high chief and talking chiefs (orators)[11], and the untitled persons within the family. She suggested that a child growing up in Samoa would be expected to know the positions of people within the class structure, and communicate with them in language appropriate to their respective positions.

Language of respect and obedience/servitude: pedagogy of the fa'aSamoa

In their accounts of the fa'aSamoa, Sapeli Tapu, Uiese Parfara and Fofoa Safotu discussed the hierarchical or rank structure of the social system, that is the social layers consisting of titled persons, orators and high chiefs, as well as untitled persons. These accounts of the fa'aSamoa are consistent with that found in the research literature. According to Lawson (1996) and Freeman (1996), within the highly stratified Samoan society, rank is assessed in terms of political title (e.g., chief, orator, and positions within each of these statuses), church title (e.g., pastor, deacon), age, and generation, among other variables. The titled have higher rank than the untitled, and older persons of higher-generation have higher rank than the young. Historically, oral communicative practices were central to the fa'aSamoa and the standing of the tulafale or talking chiefs was derived from their skills in oratory and knowledge of oral tradition. With the introduction of Christianity to Samoa by the London Missionary Society[12] in the eighteenth century, a new rank position was created in the fa'aSamoa, namely that of religious ministers. Christianity was thus not simply imposed on Samoans, but absorbed, adapted, and given a uniquely Samoan expression by the faifeau or pastor and his council of lay deacons. Moreover, with the translation of the Bible into Samoan, written communication practices were incorporated into the oral traditions and spirituality of the fa'aSamoa.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In immigrant Samoan communities, the fa'aSamoa is maintained through the hierarchical organisation of the church as the focal point of social and cultural activities(Tiata 1998). All the interviewees in this case study perceived the church (lotu) to be 'the foundation of Samoan culture' (Vave Slater), with the minister as head of the church influential in transmitting the values of the fa'aSamoa. Hence, John Fauea claimed 'the Samoan community is very ... church-oriented'. Similarly, Lini Faletu stated 'church plays a large part in their [Samoan] community, in their life as, you know, feeling there's a sense of belonging. Church plays a **huge** part'. In addition, Peone Avao (Pentecostal), Deso Vailoa (Presbyterian) and Luisa Suapusi (Mormon) who all worked as teacher-aides and home liaison officers in the case study schools, and undertook work in the local community churches detailed the extent of church-related activities of Samoans in the case study area. They noted that Mormon students attended seminars each day between 6.00am and 7.00am before going onto school. By contrast, Pentecostal and Presbyterian students participated in choir practice one or two afternoons a week, and attended Sunday services and activities spanning most of the day. The four ministers of religion, Reverend Salu A'ana (Methodist), Reverend Tui Olosega (Seventh Day Adventist), Reverend Josia Lepa (Uniting Church) and Reverend Aupito Tui (Assemblies of God) stressed that the responsibility for the proper upbringing of Samoan children was shared between the church and the home. However, the denominational differences produce significant variations in the ways 'Samoan' religion is lived out, especially in caregiver-child relationships.

In addition, Sapeli Tapu, Uiese Parfara and Fofoa Safotu all spoke of the distinctive respect or fa'aaloalo language used by members of the Samoan community in different communicative interactions, for example, everyday and ordinary interactions and interactions with titular and talking chiefs and older family members (extracts 1-3). These distinctions in communicative competence within different social contexts of the fa'aSamoa are consistent with those documented by Ochs (1988) in her study of language socialisation in Western Samoa. Specifically, Ochs (1988) distinguished between two registers or ways of speaking Samoan, namely tautala lelei ('good speech') and tautala leaga ('bad speech'). These descriptions refer to contextually-specific registers of Samoan language, rather than invariably good or bad qualities of speech. 'Good speech' is characteristic of church services, church conferences, pastors' schools, village public schools, and is the language of the Bible and all literacy materials. 'Bad speech' is used outside these contexts by almost all members of the community, and is understood by everyone. It is the register of casual interactions amongst family members and familiars, in addition to the register of stylized deliberations amongst titled persons in the meetings of village councils. In other words, 'bad speech' and 'good speech' are associated

with different social relationships. 'Good speech' tends to be used in more distant social relationships; while 'bad speech' is used in closer relationships.

In addition to 'good' and 'bad' speech, the Samoan language has a respect vocabulary. This specialised lexicon is used in both 'good speech' and 'bad speech' in interactions with persons of higher status, especially the titled. Respect language is also used in interactions with untitled persons when the speaker wishes to establish deference and respect (Ochs 1988). All participants interviewed for this study referred to respect language and forms of communication in Samoan communities in Western Samoa, New Zealand and Australia. It is important to note that Samoan children can be socialised into a respect language without necessarily acquiring full communicative competence in the Samoan language (see Tiata 1998). This means that the communicative forms of respect may influence the interactions of Samoan students in school even when their capacity in the Samoan language is limited. For example, all the parent interviewees stated that Samoan was the language of church services, and was also the mode of communication in their homes. At times, however, they conversed with their children in English, and/or switched between Samoan and English. Some parents also suggested that at times they allowed their children to attend English church services.

While all the participants in this study referred to the communicative forms of respect, they did not all provide identical accounts of such, nor did they place the same emphasis on similar components of the respect system. For example, Vave Slater suggested that he could not explain the fa'aSamoa because it was something that had to be experienced. However, all the interviewees stated that the 'values of respect and obedience/servitude' distinguished the fa'aSamoa (the Samoan way) from the fa'apalagi (the European way). Peone Avao, a home liaison officer, described the fa'aSamoa as the 'Bible values of respect.' She then went on to assert that a core component of respect was the sacred brother-sister relationship. Similarly, Luisa Suapusi, a teacher-aide, stated that 'from my background it is very taboo that brother and sister be talking about body parts and sexual things. They don't talk about it all in the same family'. By contrast, the Rev Salu A'ana emphasised the values of respect in the kava ceremony during which boys are taught how to speak and perform service activities.

John Fauea, a secondary school English and History teacher, explained that he identified as 'Samoan' because his 'parents were Samoans' and he followed 'Samoan customs', even though he is 'technically "Samoan Australian"' because he is an Australian citizen. When asked to explain Samoan customs, he responded thus:

Extract 4:

> ... part of the Samoan culture is there's a lot of respect for the parents, a lot of respect for the family. ... if I understand the Samoan language and that, I also know, I mean, the Samoan customs. Mum and Dad have told me about Samoan customs and I know a lot about that, in terms of respect for other people. (John Fauea, secondary school teacher)

Similarly, in response to a question about the structure and role of the family in maintaining Samoan culture, Fofoa Safotu explained 'a lot of the political structure of Samoan culture revolves around the family':

Extract 5:

> **R:** What aspects of your own language and culture do you want your children to retain? Is it possible to identify really specific things?
> **Fofoa Safotu**: Respect for elders, things like that. Knowing how to approach people when they, when they **do** have something to say. .... I mean how children approach their parents with something that they don't understand, some conflict, rather than it becoming real conflict, outward, verbal situation, there are ways to sort of try to solve it, even, if not directly through me, but through a grandmother or, an aunt or somebody else who is sort of you know, related, but, you know the situation is hard to cope with. (ex-teacher, part-time teacher-aide, cultural consultant)

Likewise, Reverend and Mrs Ana Lepa responded to a question about the content and form of home pedagogy in the following way:

Extract 6:

> **Mrs Ana Lepa:** Respect is very important, obedience is very important, and also the things that, some of the things that make children what they are, so that when they get out of the home to the school, they bear in mind their importance as a human being, and to listen, to obey, to respect and to put those things into practice.
> **R:** Are they central values in Samoan culture? Are they integral to Samoan culture, Samoan identity?
> **Rev. Dr Josia Lepa**: Yeah, very much. Um, respect is perhaps one of the greatest elements of a Samoan life. That has been ... right from the word go we, with families, that is something that has been given to us or perhaps we were taught to do that and of course that helps with behaviour.

To clarify, children are socialised within the communicative principles of the fa'aSamoa to take up the values of respect and obedience/servitude, that is, the dispositions and demeanours expected of a lower ranking party to a higher ranking party (i.e. titled persons, untitled elders). In other words, the symbolic control relations of the fa'aSamoa constitute the subjectivity or identity of the 'Samoan child' who accordingly realises the appropriate dispositions and demeanours in communicative interactions. Through the pedagogic communication of the home, or home pedagogy, children learn how to interact with those higher in the rank system, and negotiate conflictual relations in ways that constitute what it means to be 'Samoan' as

regulated by the principles of the fa'aSamoa.

These accounts of the values of respect and obedience/servitude inculcated through the home pedagogy of the fa'aSamoa have also been documented in the research literature. After undertaking an extensive study of language development in a Samoan village, Ochs (1988) argued that the social register of Samoan caregiver speech differs from the simplified caregiver speech characteristic of many middle class American communicative exchanges. According to Ochs (1988), when small children display egocentric speech – speech that displays an inability to meet the informational/social needs of another – Samoan caregivers characteristically do not employ explicit guessing strategies to try to clarify what the child might be trying to communicate. Rather, because they are positioned as the lower ranking party in the social system of the fa'aSamoa, children are expected to take on more of a burden for clarifying their own utterances and producing a communicatively competent utterance. Of particular relevance here is the cultural attitude that 'egocentric speech is appropriate only for high-status persons in certain contexts, such as orators delivering a formal speech' (Ochs 1988: 24). Thus from a young age, Samoan children participate in multi-party interactions and are encouraged to acquire a sociocentric demeanour, that is, to notice others and take their point of view. This disposition is the core of the respect (fa'aaloalo) and obedience (usiusita'i)/servitude (tautua) that is the expected demeanour of a lower-ranking party. Among the demeanours associated with distinctions in social rank is that of perspective taking. Lower-ranking persons are expected to assume the perspective of higher-ranking persons more than higher-ranking vis-a-vis lower-ranking parties. Lower-ranking persons stand in a service relation to those of higher status. Moreover, from a young age, Samoan children learn through communicative interactions with caregivers (parents, older siblings) that the way to knowledge and power is to serve or attend those in higher-ranking positions (Jordan, Au & Joesting 1981, Ochs 1988).

Comparable findings emerged in studies undertaken in immigrant Samoan communities in New Zealand. On the basis of her study of the relationship of Samoan youth to the Church, Tiata (1998: 2) states that 'fa'aSamoa is based on fa'aaloalo which demands that elders be treated with utmost respect'. The gist of these studies is that Samoan children, both in Samoa itself and in immigrant communities, are likely to enter school having been socialised into the respectful communicative practices of the fa'aSamoa. This sets up a disjuncture between the communicative dispositions of 'Samoan' children and the dispositions expected of the 'student' in the school.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Communication differences: pedagogy of the home and school

All the participants spoke about differences in communicative practices between the school, church and home. Uiese Parfara and Vave Slater spoke specifically about the pedagogic work of institutions in the local community responsible for re/producing the culture of the fa'aSamoa, in response to a question about the retention of Samoan knowledge. Specifically, they responded to a question about whether new, hybrid identities were being formed with migrancy, and the cultural transmissions of schooling and various media agencies. Vave Slater argued that Samoan people were adept at taking the best from the colonisers, but still retaining core aspects of the fa'aSamoa. Reverend Lepa and Sapeli Tapu responded to a question about whether school curricula should be changed to incorporate the work of postcolonial writers, so that it is relevant to Samoan students. Both interviewees asserted that the 'teacher-child' relationship in the communicative context of schooling produced 'problems with identity' for students in the local community, and even in some communities in Samoa. Thus Reverend Lepa and Sapeli Tapu attributed the educational difficulties of Samoan students to the communicative practices of schooling, specifically the form of the teacher-child relationship rather than curricular content.

Extract 7:

> **R:** Are younger people able to keep this [Samoan] knowledge or are they losing it?
> **Uiese Parfara:** ..... We would encourage them to attend meetings. ... in Samoan groups all you do is button up and listen. That's where the, it's also a big thing in the school that the teachers think that the kids have something wrong with their ears, but they are taught how to, and (this is in Samoa), shut up and listen and you'll get somewhere, and in here that doesn't work, that doesn't necessarily work. You've got to emphasise yourself, what you are saying, what you are on about. (teacher-aide, home-liaison officer, cultural consultant)

Extract 8:

> **R**: Can you explain that Samoan way?
> **Vave Slater**: Can you explain the Samoan way? You can't. It's a way of acting, it's a way of behaviour, a set of behaviours that you just can't write down.

However, later in the interview, Vave Slater described the core values of the 'Samoan Way':

> **Vave Slater**: I think it's respect for some ( )
> **R**: That's interesting, but respect for what?
> **Vave Slater**: Respect for other people. Because Western culture is based on the individual, the individual is encouraged to speak forward, be ahead of other people at the expense of others, to communicate one's own ideas. They don't think of what other people want to think. They behave in similar ways, so therefore (the debate of the moment) freedom of speech. (ex-engineer, private training provider)

Extract 9:

> **Reverend Dr Josia Lepa:** .... what I'm saying here it's not the teaching of the

> subjects, but it's the relationship of the children, and the relationship of the children and the teacher, teacher-child relationship. But I think that's also something that I'm still struggling to come to grips with living in here compared to where I am, I came from, and this is what I mean by understanding where people come from. In the sense of in this society the individual is ah, so important, you know? It doesn't matter who other people involve long as you know that I'm important, I don't care what happens to you. Now that attitude of don't care what happen to you so long as I'm the important person, now that comes out very clearly, that comes out very clearly, clearly, in school, you know, the way kids think of themselves, whereas where we come from here, you are important, but your importance is in relation to the importance of other people. (Uniting Church Minister)

Extract 10:

> **Sapeli Tapu**: ... At school even amongst Samoan students themselves, they also have problems with identity... as an individual ... everyday at school, it's how you communicate ... the usual learning, you know, seen but not heard, that's usually one of the commonest learning that we have when we're brought up [as Samoan children], so when you go to school you may know a lot but because, "am I being impolite by, you know, asking the teacher that, or challenging the teacher that I don't agree?". So it's that, that sensitivity in which also, unless the teacher really comes to know the student or the pupil and then they will be, the pupil will be free to express how much they know. (medical doctor, cultural advisor)

To clarify, Uiese Parfara, Vave Slater, Reverend Lepa and Sapeli Tapu distinguished between the 'individualised' identity achieved through the communicative practices of schooling and the 'Samoan' identity achieved through acquiring the values of respect and obedience/servitude by taking the perspective of higher-ranked persons in the fa'aSamoa. According to all four participants, differences in social relations between these communicative contexts can cause confusion for students. For example, Sapeli Tapu, Uiese Parfara and Vave Slater argued that the patterns of communication in the school system require Samoan children to take up the position of a particular type of 'student' and communicate with the teacher accordingly. This requires children to 'be free to express how much they know' (Sapeli Tapu), to 'communicate one's own ideas' (Vave Slater), and to 'emphasise yourself, what you are saying, what you are on about' (Uiese Parfara) in a competitive, individualistic environment and also to ask the teacher questions in order to develop individual repertoires of knowledge and skills. Reverend Lepa also focussed on the 'individual' accomplishment of tasks within the 'teacher-child relationship'. He went on to assert that by contrast, the communicative contexts organised by the fa'aSamoa placed less emphasis on the importance of individual freedom, and individual accomplishment of tasks. The communicative forms of the fa'aSamoa, manifested in the pattern of language and communication between caregiver and child, require children to consider the perspective of those higher in the rank system before expressing their individual opinions.

These findings about the disjuncture between communicative contexts organised by the

fa'aSamoa and those of the school are consistent with the research literature. Both Ochs (1988) and Jones (1991) contrasted the pedagogic communication of the school with the pedagogic communication of the fa'aSamoa. Both researchers argued that the pedagogy of the school encourages the individual accomplishment of tasks. In other words, children need to learn how to become individualistic 'school students' in the communicative context of the teacher-student relationship if they are to acquire the forms of knowledge transmitted through school. To illustrate, Jones' (1991) ethnographic study of pedagogic practice in an inner city secondary school in New Zealand revealed different modes of teacher-student relations or pedagogic communication between middle class Pakeha (European) and working class Pacific Islander girls. The middle class Pakeha girls actively responded to their teachers' questions, sought out individual assistance with their school work, and encouraged their teachers to participate in a two-way interaction. Moreover, classroom teachers perceived that the middle class Pakeha girls' responses to their questions were '"interesting" and "made you think"' (Jones 1991: 88). By contrast, the working class Pacific Islander girls, many of whom felt obliged to succeed for their parents' sake, resisted individualised interactions with their teachers (Jones 1991: 88). Jones concluded that the middle class Pakeha and working class Pacific Islander girls were socialised into different ways of learning. Specifically, the middle class Pakeha girls had acquired cultural tools through their primarily socialisation which enabled them to access school knowledge easily and achieve academic success 'naturally'.

To summarise, the empirical data analyses reported here, and the review of literature pertaining to the education of working class Pacific Islander students in New Zealand, indicates that the communication principles of school pedagogy constitute students as individuals who examine and govern their own state of knowledge and engage accordingly in one-to-one interactions with teachers. In Hunter's (1994) words, students are socialised into techniques of self-governance through self-examination. Accessing the knowledge transmitted through schooling requires knowledge of the specialised communication of this form of pedagogy, that is, the cultural tools for deciphering the communication codes of schooling (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). The greater the distance between the pedagogic communication of the school and the home, the more difficult it is for students to access the knowledge distributed through schooling (Bernstein 1977, 1996; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

In making the transition to school, working class Samoan students must negotiate a disjuncture between communicative contexts. As their primary socialisation is into communicative structures regulated by the fa'aSamoa with its emphasis on the disciplinary techniques of obedience/servitude, and learning by watching, Samoan students may mis-read the principles of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

pedagogic communication within the school. On the other hand, Western teachers may misread the communicative interactions of working class Samoan students. As a result, Samoan students are likely to experience difficulty accessing the knowledge transmitted through schooling.

Crucially for this study, the fa'aSamoa serves important purposes after immigration. As was indicated earlier, the fa'aSamoa was maintained in the working class Australian community in which this study was conducted, primarily through the work of the Church as the focus of Samoan cultural life. However, the principles of respect and obedience/servitude of the fa'aSamoa are not static but are re-interpreted within the symbolic controls of different religious denominations. While the communicative forms of the fa'aSamoa may have been changing in Australia, the fact remained that working class Samoan children were socialised into sociocentric, respectful forms of symbolic control from an early age, which differed from the forms of pedagogic communication in the school – either in Samoa or Australia.[13] Given the currency of versions of postmodernist educational though which suggest that students can take identities on and off, this is a point that needs to be stressed. As the postcolonial theorist, Stuart Hall (1990) has suggested, there are socially and historically contingent 'stops' to the free play of identity. Socialisation into particular forms of symbolic control is such a 'stop'.

Discussion

Although the sample of paraprofessionals interviewed for this study was limited, the data analysis confirmed the findings of research on the cultural, working class identities and schooling experiences of Samoan students in Western Samoa, Hawaii, and New Zealand. Accordingly, I argue that this study has implications for both researchers and teachers.

I argue that educational workers should engage in a critical analysis of the structure of the principles of communication in home, community and school contexts. Such analyses must ascertain how principles of communication in home/community contexts provide students with cultural tools which position them differentially in relation to the acquisition of knowledge and skills transmitted via school pedagogy. This was the primary object of the analysis undertaken in this paper.

Bernstein (1990) argues that it is possible to create a pedagogy which would weaken the relation between social class and educational achievement. Redressing working class students' disadvantage may require a supportive pre-school structure, relaxation of the pacing and sequencing of instructional and regulative discourses, and the incorporation of community forms of symbolic control into the school to enhance the conjuncture between the

communicative practices of the classroom and the community or communities from which the school draws its students. The aim of this latter strategy is to achieve symbolic continuity (or rather extension) between the working class home and the school.

With Samoan working class students, the positional dispositions and demeanours developed through socialisation into institutions regulated by the fa'aSamoa could be incorporated productively into school pedagogy. This would entail the development of a pedagogy in which the rules of hierarchy (transmitter-acquirer relation), sequencing/pacing and criteria are created through imperative or positional forms of symbolic control (Bernstein, 1977).

In addition, the narrative forms of knowledge generally prioritised in personalised modes of control with their more implicit rules of hierarchy, selection of knowledge, organisation (sequencing/pacing of knowledge), and criteria for evaluation, could benefit working class children. The incorporation of narrative forms into the school could forge a closer relationship between practically-based everyday knowledge and school knowledge with its formal systems of terms and logic. The pedagogical task is to identify where out-of-school practices in the local working class Samoan community might usefully overlap with school knowledge, and then to structure the school discourse so as to work systematically through the process of transfer from every day knowledge with its reference to the sensuous world, to curricular knowledge with its reference to systems of formal thought (Muller & Taylor, 1995). This systematic process of transfer entails the construction of complex chains of signification spanning the gap between the everyday and the formal, thus facilitating 'the move into new relations of signification which operate with written symbols in which the [everyday] referential content of the discourse is suppressed' (Walkerdine 1988: 138). However, on the basis of the analyses reported in this paper, I suggest that to position children into these chains of signification, and to lead them step-by-step along these, it is necessary for teachers and researchers to attend to the conjunctures and disjunctures of forms of symbolic control between the home/community and school contexts of pedagogy experienced by particular cohorts of students.

Acknowledgements: We are grateful to Professor Basil Bernstein for his support of this research project. Funding for the study was provided by the Australian Research Council, 1996-1998: File Number A79601654.

Notes

1 All the names of places, schools, and people in this study are pseudonyms. All the information reported in this section is taken from field notes collected on site in 1997 and 1998.

2 This information was drawn from unpublished documents made available for the study by the Performance Measurement and Review Unit of Education Queensland, the state education department.

3 This figure is taken from administrators' records of the ethnic composition of the student population. However, it should be noted that students born in New Zealand of Samoan parentage may self-identify as New Zealander rather than Samoan in certain social contexts. Some primary schools in the local area reported that Samoans/Pacific Islanders constituted 20% of the student population.

4 This quotation is taken from a local community newspaper. Conventional academic referencing procedures have not been followed here in order to preserve the anonymity of the case study school.

5 This data was not available for 6 teachers.

6 In the Australian state in which this study was conducted students obtain a junior certificate after completion of the compulsory years of schooling (Years 1-10). The absentee rates of some of the students at Sanunder, and their failure to complete assessment items meant that they did not obtain this basic educational qualification. Other students obtained a junior certificate but received fail grades on many of the subjects.

7 Studies by Graves et al. (1982), Mara et. al. (1994) and Jones (1991) reported similar low educational achievement rates for working class Samoan/Pacific Islander students in New Zealand secondary schools.

8 A report by the Queensland School Curriculum Council (QSCC) (1998) and fieldnotes collected in the case study schools support this claim. Data pertaining to the results of a literacy (reading and viewing; writing) and numeracy (number, measurement and space) test administered in 1997 to 46, 762 students across Qld was provided to the research team. The QSCC test results were collated in the form of a score, on a scale of 15 to 55, for strands of literacy and numeracy. Data for the group of students who stated that a Pacific Islander language (Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Cook Islander, Papua New Guinean) was spoken at home was also provided to the research team. This data revealed that 40% of students who indicated that they spoke a Pacific Islander language at home had spent less than 2 years in Australia. Moreover, 69% of the students indicated that Samoan was the language spoken at home. The test results indicated (see table below) that the performance of students who indicated that a Pacific Islander language was spoken at home is **extremely below** the performance of the whole cohort of students in all areas of the QSCC test (strands of literacy and numeracy).

Table: Mean scale scores for: (1) whole cohort of students, (2) students who indicated that a Pacific Islander language was spoken at home (Male and Female), bracketed figure represents students who indicated that Samoan language was spoken at home.

	Whole cohort	Pacific Islander language spoken at home	Male Pacific Islander	Female, Pacific Islander
Reading and Viewing	38.0	24.6 (24.0)	23.5 (22.4)	25.5 (25.4)
Writing	40.9	34.9 (35.0)	32.1 (31.7)	37.5 (37.8)
Number	38.7	30.7 (30.2)	30.7 (29.7)	30.7 (30.6)

Measurement	39.0	29.9 (29.1)	30.2 (28.8)	29.6 (29.4)
Space	39.0	31.3 (30.7)	31.4 (31.0)	31.3 (30.5)

9 These groups are as follows:

- Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander groups
- Lower socioeconomic groups
- Girls
- Disability groups
- Geographically isolated groups
- Non-English-speaking-background groups
- Students with learning difficulties
- Ability groups (gifted and talented)

10 For the sake of clarity, data extracts have been edited. False starts, interruptions, aspirant sounds and other detail irrelevant to the level of analysis conducted in this study have been deleted.

11 'Talking chiefs' refers to the orators who are ranked under the 'high' or 'titular' chiefs. The actions and speech of persons higher in the Samoan rank system are characterised by low activity. Thus the high chiefs remain relatively silent, bidding the orators or talking chiefs to undertake the communicative work in council meetings.

12 The London Missionary Society (LMS) was a non-denominational Protestant organisation dedicated to world-wide proselytisation.

13 See Moreton-Robinson (1998) for a similar theoretical account of the formation of Aboriginal women's identity in colonial/postcolonial Australia. Moreton-Robinson (1998:285) argues that 'the narratives of Aboriginal women reveal that they are embodied and embedded in a network of social relationships in Aboriginal domains. The body for Aboriginal women is the link to people, country, spirits, herstory and the future and is a positive site of value and affirmation as well as a site of resistance'.

References

Australian Bureau of Statistics (1998) 1996 Census of Population and Housing: Selected Family and Labour Force Characteristics for Statistical Local Areas, Queensland (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia).

Bernstein, B. (1977) Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, Class, Codes and Control, vol. III, 2nd edn (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul).

Bernstein, B. (1981) Codes, modalities and the process of cultural reproduction. Language and Society, 10, 327-363.

Bernstein, B. (1986) On pedagogic discourse. In G. Richardson, (ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education. (New York: Greenwood Press), 205-240.

Bernstein, B. (1990) The Structure of Pedagogic Discourse, Class, Codes and Control, vol. IV, (London: Routledge).

Bernstein, B. (1996) Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity: Theory, Research, Critique (London: Taylor & Francis).

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1990) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, (London: Sage).

Bourdieu, P. & Wacquant, L.J.D. (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology, (Cambridge: Polity Press).

Education Queensland, Office of Strategic Planning and Portfolio Services (April, 1999). The next decade. A discussion about the future of Queensland state schools. Brisbane: Education Queensland.

Figiel, S. (1998) Where we once belonged. (Ringwood, Victoria: Viking Penguin Books).

Freeman, D. (1996) Margaret Mead and the Heretic: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth, (Ringwood, (Victoria): Penguin).

Geertz, C. (1990). The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man. In H. Caton (ed), The Samoa Reader. Anthropologists take stock. (Lanham, Maryland: United Press of America), 45-55.

Goodman, R. (1990). Laughter and Anger: On Samoan Aggression. In H. Caton (ed), The Samoa Reader. Anthropologists take stock. (Lanham, Maryland: United Press of America), 135-141.

Graves, T.D., Graves, N.B., Semu, Vineta, N. and Ah Sam, I. (1982) The price of ethnic identity: maintaining kin ties among Pacific Islands immigrants to New Zealand. Invited paper for a symposium at the XV Pacific Sciences Congress, Mobility, Identity and Policy in the Island-Pacific. Dunedin, New Zealand, February 1-11, 1983.

Hall, S. (1990) Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (ed.), Identity: Community, culture, difference. (London: Lawrence & Wishart), 222-37.

Hunter, I. (1994) Rethinking the School: Subjectivity, Bureaucracy, Criticism (Sydney: Allen & Unwin).

Jones, A. (1991) "At school I've got a chance." Culture/Privilege: Pacific Islands and Pakeha Girls at Schools, (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press).

Jones, L. (1997). Talking about 'everyday' issues in the formal classroom setting: a framework for understanding the dynamics of interaction. Journal of Curriculum Studies, 29(5), 559-567.

Jordan, C., Au, K.H.P and Joesting, A.K. (1981) Patterns of classroom interaction with Pacific Islands children: The importance of cultural differences. Professional Paper, National Centre for Bilingual Research, Los Alamitos, California. eric ed 221 632.

Lawson, S. (1996) Tradition versus Democracy in the South Pacific, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press).

Lingard, B. (1998) The disadvantaged schools programme: caught between literacy and local management of schools. International Journal of Inclusive Education, 2 (1), 1-14.

Lloyd, G. & Cole, M. (1999) Smart Moves. The Courier Mail, April 26.

Mageo, J. (1990). Malosi: A Psychological Exploration of Mead's and Freeman's Work and of Samoan Aggression. In H. Caton (ed), The Samoa Reader. Anthropologists take stock. (Lanham, Maryland: United Press of America), 84-97.

Mara, D., Foliaki, L. and Coxon, E. (1994) Pacific Islands Education. In E. Coxon, K. Jenkins, J. Marshall and L. Massey (eds), The Politics of Learning and Teaching in Aotearoa – New Zealand. (Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press).

Moreton-Robinson, A. (1998) When the object speaks: a postcolonial encounter: anthropological representations and Aboriginal women's self-presentations. Discourse, 19 (3), 275-289.

Muller, J. and Taylor, N. (1995) Schooling and everyday life: knowledges sacred and profane. Social Epistemology, 9 (3), 257-275.

Ochs, E. (1988) Culture and Language Development: Language Acquisition and Language Socialisation in a Samoan Village, (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press).

Queensland Education Department (1995) Cultural and Language Diversity in Education Policy and Draft Information Sheets. Unpublished document.

Queensland School Curriculum Council (1997) Statewide performance of students in aspects of literacy and numeracy in Queensland 1995 &1996. Report to the Minister of Education. Qld Government.

Schoeffel, P. (1995) The Samoan concept of feagaiga and its transformation. In J. Huntsman (Ed.). Tonga and Samoa. Images of gender and polity. (University of Canterbury: MacMillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies), 85-105.

Solomon, J. (forthcoming). Pedagogy, identity and the construction of a theory of symbolic control. Basil Bernstein questioned by Joseph Solomon. British Journal of Sociology of Education

Tiata, J. (1998) Caught between Cultures: A New Zealand-born Pacific Islander Perspective, (Auckland: Christian Research Association).

Walkerdine, V. (1988) The Mastery of Reason, (London: Routledge).